



Bicycle Citations and Related Arrests

in Minneapolis 2009-2015

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Cover photo by Peter Tandlund via Flickr

INTRODUCTION

Racial disparities in policing is a major issue in the United States. Across the country, analyses of police data by social justice and civil liberties advocates have confirmed the experiences and anecdotes from communities of color – there exist clear patterns of racial bias and profiling of people of color by police.

In the Twin Cities, the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) report, *Picking Up the Pieces, Policing in America: A Minneapolis Case Study* found that Black people were 8.7 times more likely than whites and Native Americans were 8.6 times more likely than whites to be arrested for low-level offenses by the Minneapolis Police Department (ACLU, n.d.). In light of the MPD's recent decision to start recording the race/ethnicity of those they stop, Minneapolis Police Chief Janeé Harteau said that there is “no question” that disparities exist (Jany, 2016).

In the bicycle advocacy world, racial and class equity is becoming a focal point at some bicycle organizations. Yet people committed to increasing the number of typically marginalized bicyclists face a major barrier: policing. “Biking while Black” — the experience of being racially profiled on a bike — is a documented issue and may keep people of color from bicycling (Connor, 2016; Lugo, 2014; Rusch, 2002; Zayas & Stanley, 2015). For example, getting pulled over for “looking suspicious” is a common aspect of biking while Black.

Additionally, and of particular concern, recent studies show that people of color are more likely to be ticketed and/or arrested. In a high-profile *Tampa Bay Times* article, journalists Alexandra Zayas and Kameel Stanley revealed that in Tampa Bay 80% of people who received a bicycle-related citation from 2003 to 2015 were Black, despite Black people making up only one-quarter of the city's population.

In the bicycle advocacy world, racial and class equity is becoming a focal point at some bicycle organizations. Yet people committed to increasing the number of typically marginalized bicyclists face a major barrier: **policing**.

Here in the Twin Cities, various police entities have wide discretion over whether racial data is recorded for citations. Metro Transit did an internal study of its citation data and found that people of color are more likely to receive tickets for fare evasion than white people. More specifically, American Indians were 152 percent more likely, and Blacks 26 percent more likely (Moore, 2016).

Until September 2016, the Minneapolis Police Department (MPD) did not collect racial or ethnic data for simple citations. There is not a clear reason why Metro Transit was recording race/ethnicity data and the MPD neglected collecting this data for so long. “MTPD has adopted a strong stance toward ensuring all facts related to any of our incidents are fully documented,” Timothy Lynaugh, manager of the Metro Transit Police Department, said in an email to the report's author. “This would include both gender/racial identifiers, and a host of other specifics depending on the type of incident we are called to, or initiate.”

Volunteers with the Minneapolis Bicycle Coalition were interested in exploring how the Minneapolis police interact with bicyclists, specifically in regard to citations and related arrests. We were particularly inspired by the advocacy work done around the bicycle citation research in Tampa Bay and fighting against the stop and frisk culture in New York City. The New York Civil Liberties Union (NYCLU) found that police stop and frisk an overwhelming number of Blacks and Latinos, and that 90 percent of those stops are of innocent people (NYCLU, n.d.). We do not believe the police are necessarily pulling over bicyclists for no reason, but we are concerned that minor bicycle infractions are being used as an excuse to stop and interrogate people of color, Native Americans, and homeless individuals.

Our project was based on the following research questions:

- *What behavior(s) tends to spur bicycle-related citations?*
- *Where is it common for people to receive bicycle-related citations?*
- *Who tends to get bicycle-related citations?*
- *Why are people getting detained or arrested after an after an initial stop for a bicycle-related matter?*

METHODS

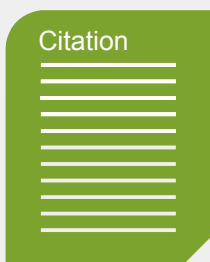
Data collection

This project utilized two sources of data:

- Bicycle-related citations (1,101) issued by the Minneapolis and University of Minnesota police departments between 2009 and 2015 that we obtained via a public data request through the 4th District Court of the Minnesota Judicial Branch. However, it should be noted that the number of citations for 2015 was very low. The disparity in citation levels may be due to “officer discretion” and the amount of officers patrolling the street, according to MPD Officer Cory Schmidt.
- Police incident and arrest reports (158) resulting from bicycle-related citations (e.g. getting pulled over for riding on the sidewalk and then being arrested for drug paraphernalia, loitering, etc.) in which 169 people were either arrested or logged as suspects.

All data acquired are available to the public. Our full methodology is included in Appendix A.

1,101 total bicycle citations from 2009-2015



Citation

When stopped for an infraction like riding on the sidewalk or failing to follow traffic laws, police issue a citation. From 2009 to 2015, **the only demographic information included was gender.**



In some instances, a bicycle stop can result in an incident or an arrest report. In addition to gender, these reports **include race.** From 2009 to 2015, there were **158 such reports related to bicycle citations.**

Data reporting

Data was analyzed using three main methods: mapping the citation and police report locations using geocoding and Carto (formerly CartoDB); basic descriptive analysis; and qualitatively coding the police reports based on both predetermined and emergent codes using N.Vivo software. More details on how we conducted the research can be found in Appendix A.

FINDINGS

Who tends to get bicycle-related citations?

In short, it's hard to say. Of the 1,101 simple citations obtained, we know that men received the most citations (77%) but gender was the only demographic data available in the public records provided by the 4th District Court.

In terms of race and ethnicity (the original focus of our project), this question is nearly impossible to answer because the Minneapolis Police Department was not recording race or ethnicity data on their citations. According to the Star Tribune, the police department has begun “tracking the ethnicities and other demographic characteristics of drivers and pedestrians stopped by its officers” (Jany, 2016).

What behavior spurs bicycle-related citations?

The top two reasons for bicyclists in Minneapolis to receive a citation are **riding on the sidewalk in a business district and failing to follow traffic laws**. For this report, failing to follow traffic laws includes items such as running red lights or stop signs, failing to yield, and riding against traffic on the street. Other common reasons for receiving a citation are not having lights at night and blocking access or illegally parking a bicycle. [Figure 1]

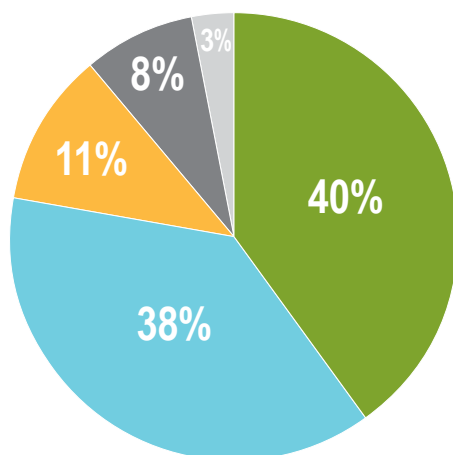
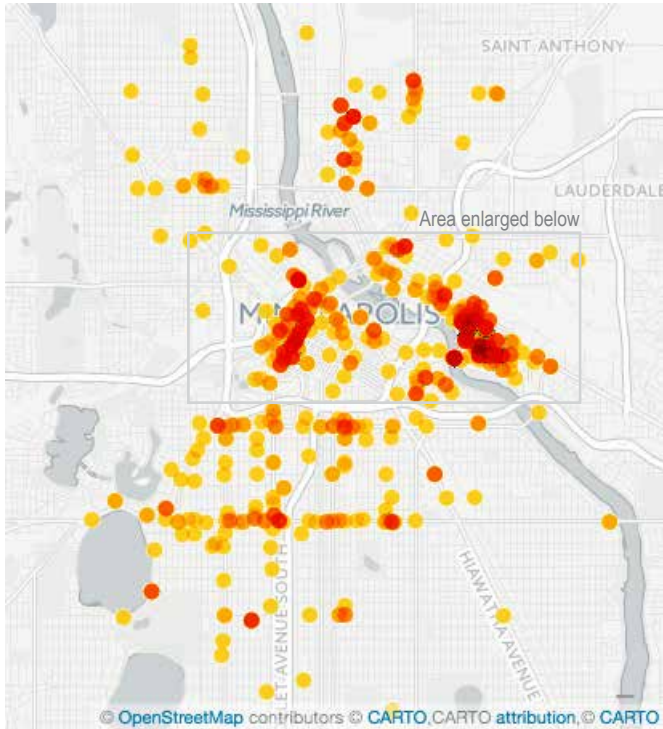


Figure 1

Bicycle Citations by Category

- rides on sidewalk where illegal
- fails to follow traffic laws
- lacks headlight or rear light at night
- blocking access or illegally parked
- other

Locations of bicycle-related citations, 2009-2015



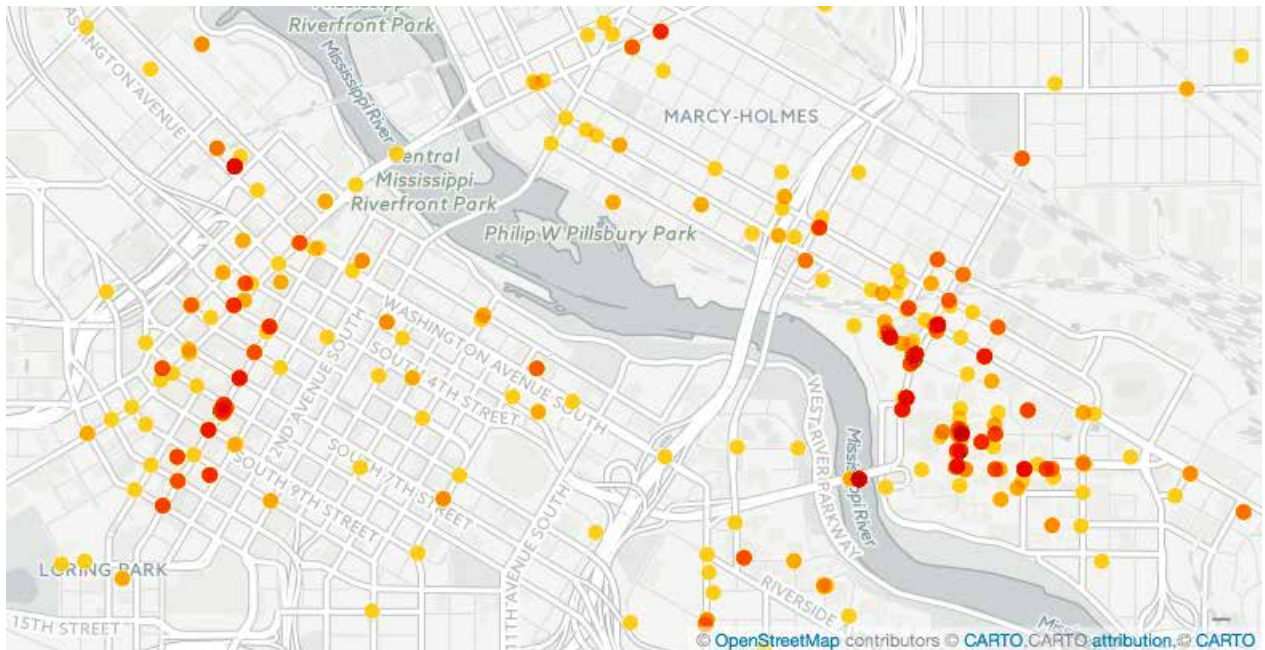
Where is it common for people to receive bicycle-related citations?

The top three locations for police to issue citations in Minneapolis are:

- Nicollet Mall (96)
- Hennepin Avenue (48)
- University of Minnesota (402)

The university area alone is 38% of the total citations. Within the university area, 18% of the citations were issued by university police and the other 20% by City police.

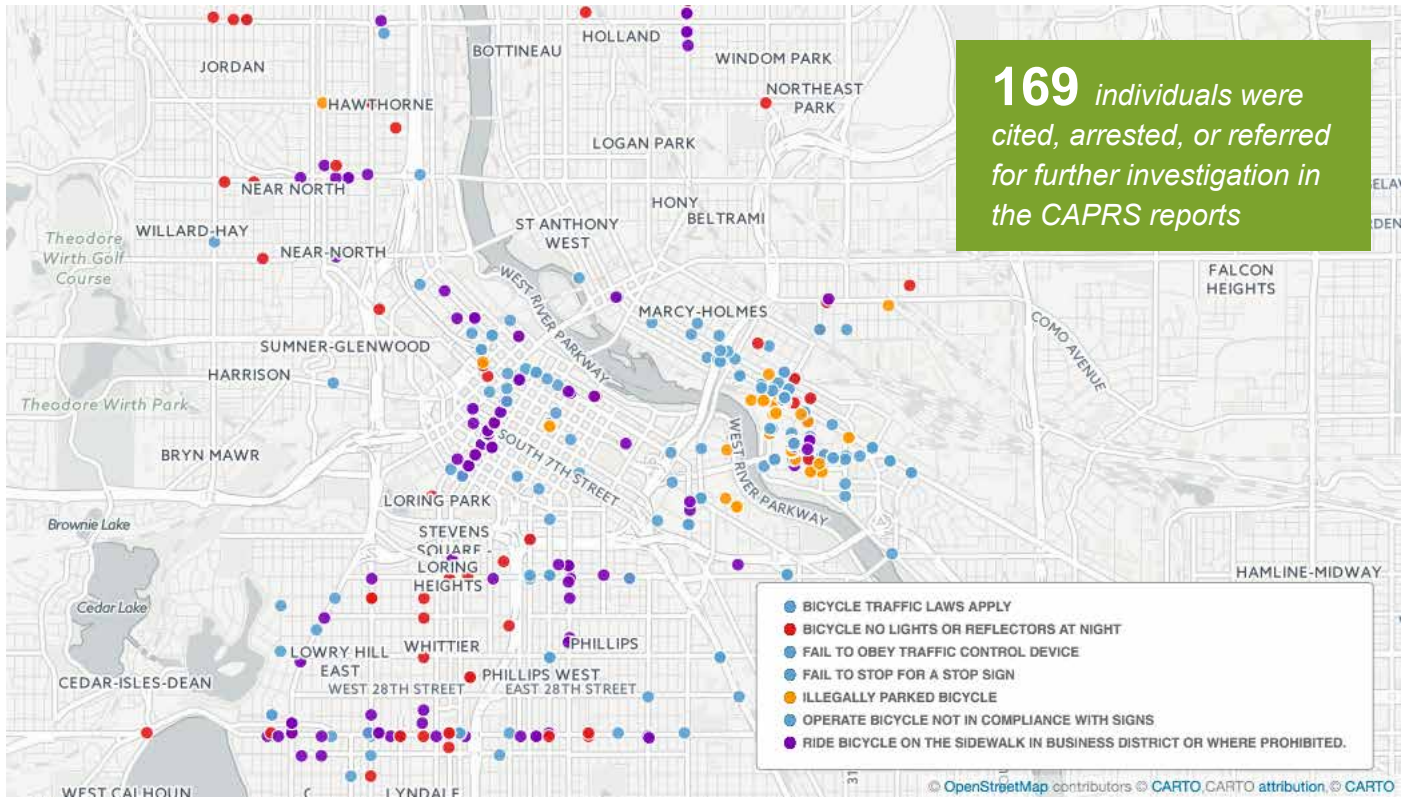
One reason that these spaces are hotspots for citations is that the police appear to be doing stings for a short



[Click here for an interactive, online version of the above maps](#)

amount of time. The locations of the stings are in heavily-trafficked areas especially areas with many pedestrians. Therefore, it can be assumed that many of the citations are not spontaneous based on general police observation but are based on planned

Bicycle-related Citations by Offense, 2009-2015



stakeouts. For example, on May 20, 2009 police issued 13 sidewalk-riding citations at the intersection of 8th Street and Nicollet Mall in the span of 40 minutes. After this date, 4 additional citations were issued on June 1, 2009 in the span of 27 minutes. No citations were issued at this intersection after 2009.

Sting operations are prevalent at the University of Minnesota as well. For example, on September 21, 2011 the University of Minneapolis police issued 20 citations in two hours along Church Street SE, which is a pedestrian-bicycle mall. According to Officer Corey Schmidt, these stings are “traffic initiatives” that were funded by federal government grants. The Department of Transportation hands down guidelines to police departments and each department chooses what guidelines reflect their needs the most. The grant money is used to pay officers overtime for extra traffic enforcement.

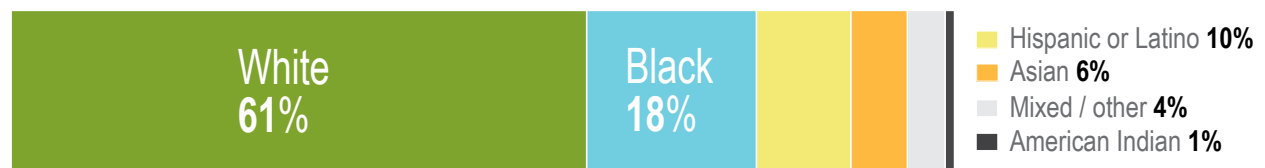
POLICE REPORTS SPURRED BY BICYCLE INFRACTIONS (CAPRS)

In addition to citation data, we also obtained incident and arrest reports that were a result of bicycle-related stops. The MPD uses a Computer Assisted Police Records System (abbreviated as CAPRS) for these reports. We thus refer to police incident and arrest reports as CAPRS reports. Not all traffic violations — as bicycle citations are considered — result in a CAPRS report. According to a Police Conduct Oversight Commission member, CAPRS reports are only required for

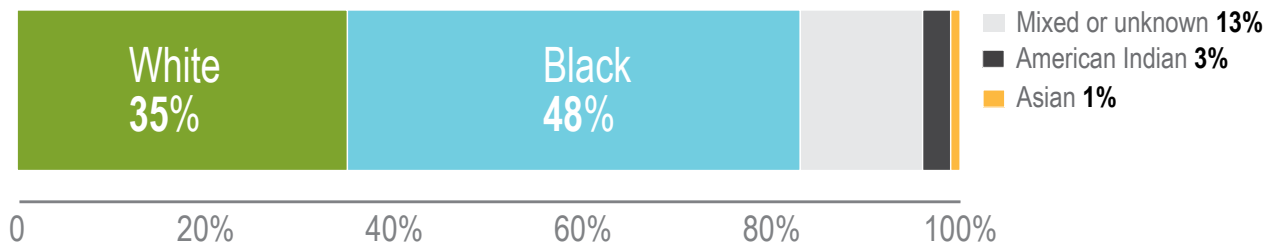
- an arrest
- a citation issued in relation to an accident
- a citation for reckless or careless driving or violation of open bottle law, or
- if there is an “unusual charge or situation which needs explanation.”

Figure 2

Race and ethnicity of Minneapolis residents in 2014



Race and ethnicity of people in bike-related CAPRS reports 2009-2015



A similar list of reasons for a CAPRS report is available on the [City of Minneapolis website](#). When a stop spurs a CAPRS report, the MPD records race/ethnicity of the arrestees.

Of the 1,101 citations, a total of 169 individuals were cited, arrested, or referred for further investigation in the bike-related CAPRS reports obtained and coded for the same time frame as the citations (2009-2015). Almost all arrestees were male (96%). Because incidents involving multiple individuals are recorded as only one CAPRS report, this report analyzed fewer actual case numbers than individuals.

The CAPRS analysis in this report focuses on Black and white bicyclists, as these were the only two categories with enough individuals to detect patterns (Blacks made up 48% of CAPRS arrestees and whites made up 36%). Because the overwhelming majority of individuals cited and/or detained were male (96%), it was not feasible to examine differences or similarities in patterns of arrests between genders.

Race/ethnicity breakdown of CAPRS reports

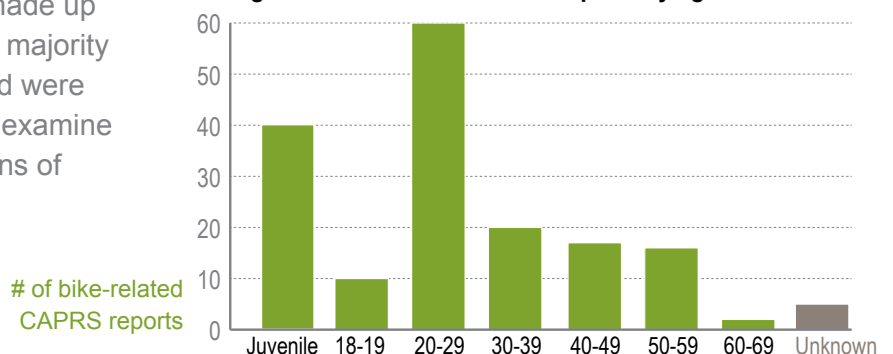
The race / ethnicity breakdown of CAPRS reports was [Figure 2]:

- Black: 48%
- White: 35%
- Mixed or unknown: 13%
- American Indian: 3%
- Asian: 1%

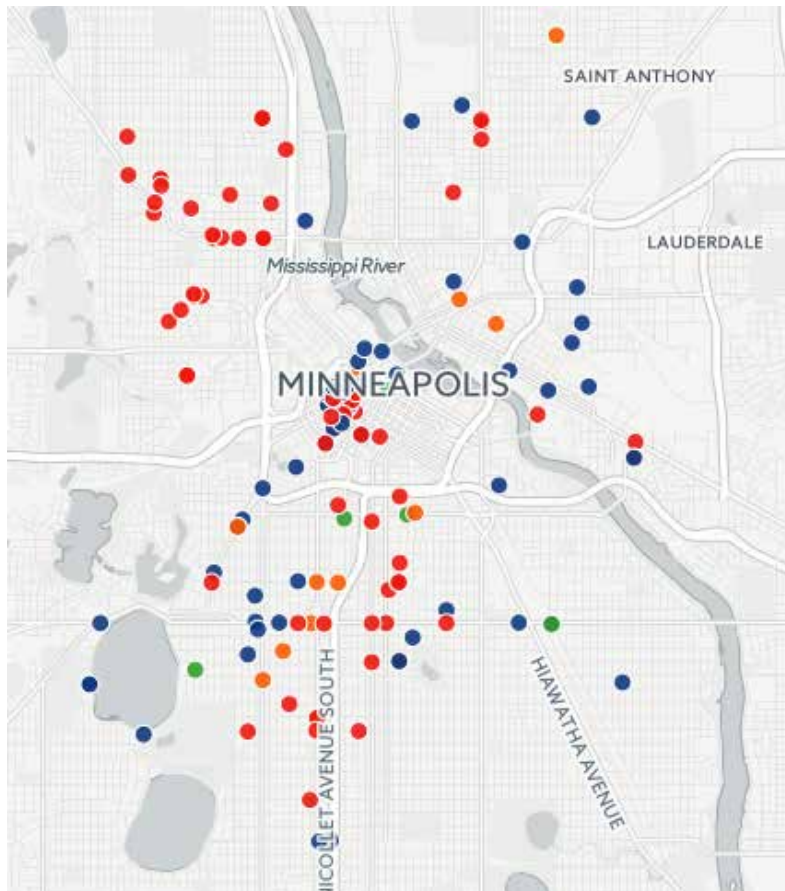
Age breakdown for Bike-Related CAPRS Reports

The age breakdown for bike-related CAPRS reports [Figure 3] included 41 juveniles, the majority of whom were Black (28) followed by white (8), unknown (2), American Indian, Asian and mixed (1 each).

Figure 3: Bike-related CAPRS reports by age



BICYCLE-RELATED CAPRS REPORTS BY RACE, 2009-2015



- White
- Black
- Native American
- Mixed race / unknown
- Asian

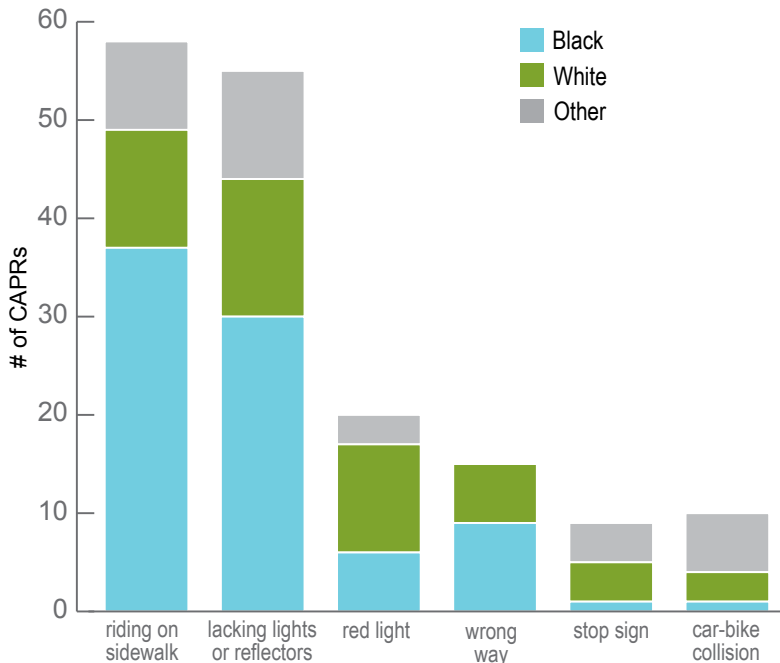
[Click here for an interactive, online version of the map.](#)

Both the number of youth involved in CAPRS reports, and the high number of Black juveniles stopped is notable. This data is in line with the ACLU report on low-level offenses and race in which the ACLU found that Black youth in Minneapolis were 5.8 times more likely to be arrested for a low-level offense than white youth (ACLU, n.d.).

Primary reasons for CAPRS reports

Riding on the sidewalk in a business district (49) and not having a front light (44) were the two main reasons police initially stopped bicyclists in the CAPRS reports. This greatly contrasts with the bicycle citation data in which lacking a light on one's bicycle made up only eight percent of all the citations given to bicyclists. In examining the racial data in the CAPRS reports, Black people had a noticeably higher instance of being stopped for riding on a sidewalk, no lights/reflectors, and riding the wrong way on the street. White people had a higher instance of being stopped for running a red light and stop sign. [Figure 4]

Figure 4: Top Reasons for Bicycle Stops Leading to CAPRS 2009-2015 by Race



Given that riding on the sidewalk and lacking lights were such prominent reasons for stops resulting in arrests and that Black people are the most likely to be pulled over for these behaviors, it appears that police are using these reasons to target riders of color. Although a small data set, this pattern of disparate enforcement of regulations is consistent with larger MPD patterns of disparities in the use of low-level offenses such as trespassing, disorderly conduct, consuming in public, and loitering with intent to commit a narcotics offense¹ to arrest Black residents (ACLU, n.d.).

Police behavior during stops

In the police narratives found in the CAPRS reports, negative perceptions were more likely assigned to people of color. For example, of the 33 reports coded with the police perceiving the arrestee as “confrontational,” 22 were Black, eight white, one other/mixed, and two unknown.

Descriptives given in reports with Black arrestees included: uncooperative, unruly, intent to commit crime, area as crime-filled, and smelled like weed. These descriptions,

written by the police themselves, highlight the racist judgments made about Black people, especially young Black men, and the intent of their actions when they are in public spaces. For example, descriptions like “confrontational” can be used as excuses to escalate situations and respond in harsher ways towards Black people. The racial undertones of smelling like weed are highlighted by the over-representation of people of color being cited and jailed for marijuana offenses despite similar usage rates among white people (ACLU, 2013).

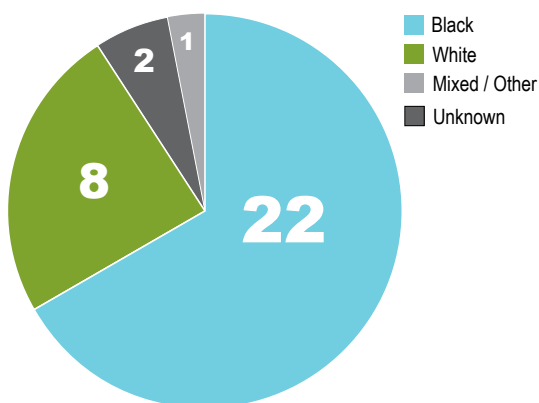
The following are excerpts from specific CAPRS reports that stood out and highlight:

- the racialized negative perceptions made by the officers
- a pattern of police assuming specific people should not be in specific areas (sometimes known as loitering)
- the strategy of jailing people whom the police assume will not “respond to citations.”

We also noted that police had little empathy for people of color riding their bicycles on the sidewalk on East Lake Street despite the busy

¹ The ACLU notes that “to be charged with [loitering with intent to commit narcotics offense] you do not need to have narcotics in your possession. Since it doesn’t require concrete evidence, this offense gives police officers significant leeway to arrest people who may have done nothing wrong and are just hanging out.” (ACLU, n.d.)

Figure 5: Instances in which police perceived arrestee as “confrontational”



In North Minneapolis at 11:30 p.m., a police officer conducted a suspicious person stop of a Black cyclist because the bicyclist was riding his bike the wrong way and had no lights. The officer “could smell an odor of alcohol coming from his breath” and then asked the bicyclist if he was on probation.

and hazardous nature of traffic in this area (“Understanding Bicyclist-Motorist Crashes in Minneapolis, Minnesota,” 2013). This street was not a hotspot for citations writ large.

In North Minneapolis around 11:30 p.m., a police officer conducted a suspicious person stop of a Black cyclist because the bicyclist was riding his bike the wrong way and had no lights. The officer “could smell an odor of alcohol coming from his breath” and then asked the bicyclist if he was on probation. After a verbal confirmation, the bicyclist was booked for “criminal contempt, violat[ing] conditions of release, and a bicycle violation.” (MP-13-249561)

In downtown Minneapolis a Black male was stopped late at night because “he did not have a light or reflector on the back of some sort of cart being towed behind his bike.” The officers furthermore noted that the cart “contained miscellaneous junk.” The man stated he was just passing through on his way to the north side. The report stated “AP1 [Arrested Person 1] was uncooperative with officers and did not want to give officers his contact number or address.” The officers then ticketed him for no light/reflectors. (MP-12-285987)

During Black Friday a young Black male was stopped downtown by police for riding his

bicycle on the sidewalk and “ordered to walk his bicycle on the sidewalk.” According to the police write up, the young man was “uncooperative” and “claimed that he was homeless.” Police booked the bicyclist at HCJ [Hennepin County Jail] “to prevent further criminal conduct and (2) there was a substantial likelihood that AP1 would not respond to a citation in lieu of arrest.” (MP-11-353989)

A black male was issued a Block E trespassing notice when police observed him riding his bike on the sidewalk in front of the building twice within two hours. The ticket was issued at the Block E security office. The man was “upset and walked away leaving the trespass letter he refused to sign, the bike, and his ID.” The items were left at Block E for him to retrieve. (MP-09-140661)

After a bicyclist was seen twice at James and Plymouth North, an area “highly known... for loitering of non-residents and narcotics activities,” a Black woman was arrested after biking around the area because she failed to leave when she had “no reasons to be in the area, and doesn’t reside in the area.” This woman was also cited for having no lights on her bike at night. (MP-09-287726)

A white male described as riding “an expensive bike” in South Minneapolis was stopped by

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police after riding against traffic into a gas station. Police determined he was violating conditions of release from jail because he had a bottle of alcohol in his backpack and was “loitering.” Though the man provided many reasons for being in the area, the police said “none were consistent” except the meeting of a friend nearby. The man’s residence was three miles north. (MP-10-307102)

On a busy section of Lake Street in South Minneapolis, a Black male was stopped for riding on the sidewalk. According to officers, the bicyclist became “verbally abusive and called officers ‘niggers’ and told us that he was racially profiled.” The bicyclist was not arrested but issued a citation for riding on the sidewalk and spitting. This CAPRS report focused on the bicyclist’s behavior including how he “laughed and said he would get his lawyers and beat this in court saying he will never be found guilty.” (MP-09-285000)

In the Bryn Mawr neighborhood, a resident reported juveniles “tampering with some bikes from his porch. The juveniles fled but later returned and one juvenile threatened to ‘shoot up’ the above address.” No citations were issued or arrests made but police described the threat as “terroristic.” (MP-09-359488)

A 43-year old Black male “was riding his bike SB [southbound] in the alley and then WB [westbound] on East Lake from the alley. Ofc

[Officer] stopped A1 [Arrestee 1] on the corner of Portland and Lake. Ofc notices A1 did not have a light on his bike and was riding on the sidewalk.” The report noted that “A1 said he was riding home and had no reason to be in the area because he stays in NE MPLS. A1 did not have a bag and allowed Ofc to search him.” (MP-12-101221)

An officer observed a mixed race person “riding a bicycle north on Chicago Av S, then east on Lake toward Elliot Av S. The bicycle did not have a headlight and was riding on the sidewalk in a business district.” (*Chicago and E Lake Street is a common area for sidewalk riding due to heavy traffic.*) After the bicyclist was unable to produce identification on his person or at his apartment, “he was booked into HCJ, as he could not be ID’d, which led me to believe he would be unlikely to respond to a citation and did not possess or have easy access to post bail.” (MP-10-229957)

In addition to the police narratives of the stops, we examined the specific behaviors of searching, handcuffing, and employing force documented in CAPRS reports. The percentage of CAPRS that included the police searching people was small, only 6% (10 people). However, of those reports nine were Black. Of those reports noting the use of handcuffs “for safety,” all were Black (three instances). The police reported using force on four people total, three white and one Black.

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Stop outcomes

Due to the nature of CAPRS reports, the corresponding stops resulted in charges and outcomes more severe than a citation for bicycle violations alone. For example, CAPRS narratives showed people being arrested for an outstanding warrant or booked to county jail for incidents that occurred during the stop. [Figure 7]

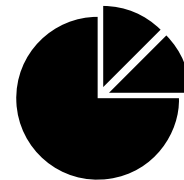
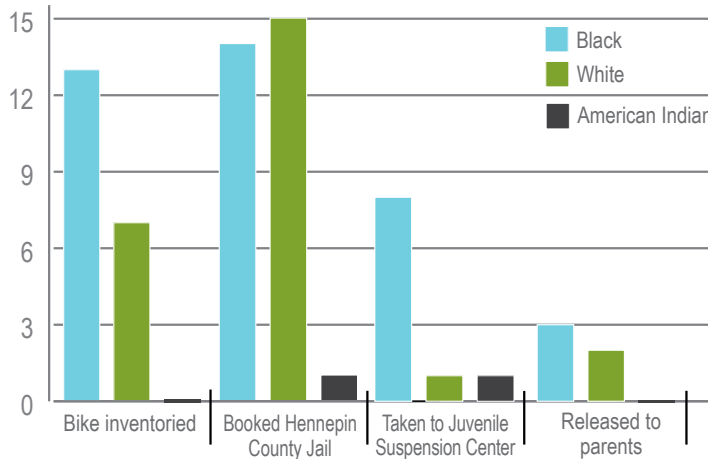
Although each stop started with a bicycle-related offense, the final charges in CAPRS reports included a wide variety of offenses. Other charges not related to bicycling behavior included failure to obey police order, obstructing the legal process, loitering, and spitting. Minneapolis City Council repealed laws against spitting and lurking that were disproportionately enforced against people of color (MN NOC, 2015). Our data supports this disproportionate enforcement. Only Black people were cited for loitering, lurking, and spitting (10 instances). Nine white people were

arrested for outstanding warrants compared to five Black people. See Appendix B for a full list of charges with their related fines and consequences.

Consequences of citations and charges (Appendix B)

The consequences resulting from the bicycle citations range from fines as high as \$178 to mandatory court appearances. A charge typically has a base fine (e.g. \$50) but what people end up paying due to “surcharges” is much higher (e.g. \$128). A full list of bicycle citation charges are in Appendix B, but common citation charges include: Failing to obey traffic control device \$128, riding on the sidewalk in a business district \$98, and operating a bike without sufficient lights at night \$98. These low-level offenses tend to have a snowball effect on poor people of color, wherein a court date and/or arrest can impact paying bills or cost them their job (ACLU, n.d.).

Selected outcomes from bike-related CAPRS stops, 2009-2015



CONCLUSION

This report reveals clear patterns in police and bicyclist behavior regarding citations. Police are more likely to ticket a bicyclist at a specific time and location for a specific behavior (stings) rather than spontaneously ticketing someone based on observed behavior.

Because race and ethnicity wasn't recorded on these citations, we cannot say if bicyclists of color were disproportionately stopped and ticketed in Minneapolis. However, the racial data we obtained through CAPRS reports suggests that it is highly probable that Black bicyclists face greater threats of police stops than do white bicyclists. We support the recent announcement that the Minneapolis Police Department will begin recording the race and gender for all suspicious person, suspicious vehicle and traffic stops. We urge the MPD to make this data easily accessible to all interested individuals and communities.

The racial data we obtained through CAPRS reports suggests that it is highly probable that Black bicyclists face greater threats of police stops than do white bicyclists. We support the recent announcement that the Minneapolis Police Department will begin recording the race and gender for all suspicious person, suspicious vehicle and traffic stops.

As bicyclists committed to racial justice and equity, it was disappointing that a more thorough analysis of the race of people receiving citations could not be conducted. Given existing reports on racial inequities in the Minneapolis area, we are concerned that similar inequities exist among bicyclists in Minneapolis. Unfortunately, this report cannot make any claims that confirm or deny such

injustices. Until data becomes available from Minneapolis Police Department (which has just begun to record the race/ethnicity of those receiving citations), we will have to rely on personal testimonies and CAPRS reports for clues as to who is getting cited while riding.

RECOMMENDATIONS

We need to hold the MPD accountable. Bike, pedestrian, and civil rights advocacy groups collaborate to fund quarterly independent analyses of the new MPD data on race, ethnicity, and gender in bike, pedestrian, traffic, suspicious person, and juvenile stops.

Bicycle counts that include race/ethnicity.

Prioritizing education and outreach to areas that are disproportionately prone to bicycle citations (e.g. targeted light giveaways).

Bicycle advocacy organizations and police departments work together to ensure bicyclist safety and following of regulations.

Collecting data is only the first step. Bicycle, pedestrian, civil rights, and social justice organizations need to collaborate to do regular independent reviews and analyses of the racial, ethnic and gender data that the MPD is beginning to collect. Furthermore, groups need to build a plan of action for responding to inequities brought to light by this new data.

Improved data collection is not a task only for the police. Bicycle advocacy organizations also need to refine bike counts so we know who is biking. In Minneapolis, Transit for Livable Communities used to facilitate bicycle counts in which gender was tracked. Currently, the City of Minneapolis does an annual bicycle/pedestrian count that does not record gender or race/ethnicity. There is precedent in other

major cities, which include race/ethnicity in their counts. For example, Dr. Anne Lusk at the Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health (Boston) has created a visual bike count that tracks gender, age, race, and other indicators such as helmet usage.

If we had data on where specific races and ethnicities ride (including sidewalk riding), we could develop deeper analyses on citation and arrest locations. For example, we could examine whether people of color are being cited in spaces where white people tend to ride at higher rates. Although we do not wish for such racial disparities to exist, quantitative data could help us answer these questions. Another reason to count the race or ethnicity of bicyclists is to have a better idea of the demographic breakdown of bicyclists, either generally in the city and in specific neighborhoods.

We encourage bicycle advocacy groups to use the data in this report for outreach, education and resource allocation. We suggest outreach in areas with high citation rates and education around behaviors most likely to result in police-bicyclist interactions. For example, we know that police often target Nicollet Mall for sidewalk riding. Bicycle advocacy organizations could intervene and educate riders about the high likelihood of a citation and talk with them about safe riding in the streets. We found that in the CAPRS reports, not having a light at night was a common excuse for police to stop bicyclists, particularly bicyclists of color. Additionally, we know that citations for riding without a light were common in North and South Minneapolis. We strongly suggest that bicycle organizations use these locations as education hubs and target bicycle light distribution in these areas rather than the traditional focus on commuter corridors.

APPENDIX A

Methodology

Our methodology section is detailed because we want to share our knowledge of obtaining public data. The process has multiple steps so we hope that our detailed methodology will help others develop this type of research.

We first submitted a public request through the 4th District of the Minnesota Judicial Branch. We specifically asked the following:

“Minneapolis Bicycle Coalition is seeking the data of citations given to people while on their bicycles. We would like both traffic-related citations (ex. running a red light) and other citations that were given while riding their bikes (ex. loitering). Date, location and time is all very important. A person’s name is not but other identifying info is also crucial (gender, for example). Ideally we would love many years worth of this data, but even if we could get up to sometime in 2015, that would be an excellent start.”

Approximately two weeks later, we received a spreadsheet with citation information that included offense code, description of the offense code, date and location of the offense, and gender of the ticketed person from 2009-2015. This information cost \$30 and was funded by the Minneapolis Bicycle Coalition.

Race and ethnicity were not given as identifying information but this is not because we failed to ask for it (although being as specific as possible in data requests is good practice). The Minneapolis Police Department did not begin recording race or ethnicity on citations until September of 2016. This has been noted in studies by the Police Conduct

Oversight Commission (2015) and the ACLU (n.d.). The lack of this data makes it difficult to do any race/ethnicity analysis prior to September 2016 as it pertains to who gets citations in Minneapolis.

After gaining access to the citation data we concluded that the data lacked the depth that we needed to answer our research questions. The only way to get more depth on any of the citation occurrences was to request related police reports. Police reports in Minneapolis are known as CAPRS. Not all traffic violations, as bicycle citations are considered, result in a CAPRS report. According to a Police Conduct Oversight Commission member, CAPRS reports are not required for traffic offenses unless there is an arrest, a citation issued in relation to an accident, a citation for reckless or careless driving or violation of open bottle law, or if there is an “unusual charge or situation which needs explanation.”

Two months after we received the citation data, we requested bicycle-related CAPRS reports via the Minneapolis Police Department data website. We requested specific bicycle-related police codes that were supplied to us by the PCOC. The message we sent in with the request was as follows:

“I am requesting CAPRS results for the following offense codes: BIKE, BIKETF, and TFBBIK¹ from 2009-2015 present date. The fields in the CAPRS results I would like are: sex, date of birth, race and/or ethnicity of all non-police persons involved, location of stop, duration of stop, outcome of stop (with specific citation or arrest codes if applicable), any narrative notes associated with each entry, and the case numbers of each report. The electronic copy should be in an excel spreadsheet format, sent as an excel file. A .csv file would also work. Thank you.”

¹ Although we received CAPRS results for all three of these codes, we decided to code solely for those CAPRS reports assigned BIKE. We did not look at any CAPRS pertaining to the theft of a bike or the theft of a bait bike.

A week later, we were sent the following message with two excel sheets.

“CAPRS limited functionality will not produce all the data fields requested. I included as much as possible but needed to use two different query formats. Unfortunately neither of these two capture duration of the stop or narrative. That could only be accomplished by pulling up each individual case number.”

One sheet contained the police report number, date, and location. The other contained name, race, sex and date of birth of the person receiving the citation. We were not charged for this data. This data did not give us any information about what actually happened during these police-bicyclist interactions.

To get the stop narratives, we needed to get the public data from each police report. To do that, we supplied the Minneapolis Police Department's Records Information Unit with a list of all the CAPRS case numbers we wanted public data from. We were able to pull up each individual police report through a supplied computer in the records office, but in the interest of time, we asked the Records Unit to pull all of the reports for us (roughly 160). They charged us roughly \$50 in printing costs (25 cents/page).

The next step was to code the CAPRS police reports. These reports included both fixed category fields (i.e. race, time, location, charges) and short narratives written by the responding officer that described the police-arrestee interaction. We scanned the CAPRS reports and uploaded them to N.Vivo, a qualitative-research coding program (two-week free trials were available to do this work). We coded the CAPRS police reports using two strategies. One, we coded for a priori categories that would answer our research questions including neighborhood in which stop

occurred, reason for stop, stop outcomes, and charges. Additionally, each case was coded with the bicyclist's race/ethnicity, age, and gender (as supplied by the police reports). In the CAPRS reports, juvenile demographic data was shielded but demographics (race/ethnicity) were given in a separate spreadsheet given to us by the MPD. Second, we remained open to adding codes that might arise from reading the CAPRS reports. Using this strategy we arrived at codes such as officer perceptions of arrestee, officer description of location, and whether searches or some type of restraint and/or force was used, among others. Coding was time-intensive (30 hours of work) but allowed us to produce see the intersections across multiple variables. Inter-coder reliability between the two coders was tested through each coder independently coding five of the same cases and then coming together to discuss the results and create a preliminary codebook. The coders consulted each other during the coding process to ensure uniform coding.

Once the coding was completed, we ran queries to ascertain intersections between race, ethnicity, reasons for stop, and stop outcomes that are shown in this report. We also constructed our own charts in Excel using the N.Vivo data.

The final step was constructing interactive and static data maps using Carto, an open-source, free mapping program. We were able to import various excel files and manipulated the data to produce maps for both the citation and CAPRS data. Carto was intuitive and very easy to use; the program came on recommendation of a local reporter who focuses on data-driven journalism.

Before this report was published, we sat down with bicycle equity stakeholders in Minneapolis who reviewed this report for clarity and comprehension. Public presentations are being planned around the Minneapolis area.

Appendix B

Bicycle Offenses and CAPRS Offenses : Fine Amounts and Types from MN Offense Table, October 2015

Offense	Statute	Type	Fine	Definition
Fail to obey traffic control device	169.06.4a or PB9-74	Petty Misdemeanor	\$50/128	
Illegal movement on red, illegal right turn on red, or fail to stop for traffic control signal	169.06.5(a)3(i)	Petty Misdemeanor	\$50/128	
Wrong way on one-way	169.18.6(a)	Petty Misdemeanor	\$100/178	
Driving down street or alleys wrong way	474.240	Petty Misdemeanor	\$100/178	
Bicycle fail to ride on the right side of the roadway	169.222.4(a)	Petty Misdemeanor	\$20/98	
Fail to stop for a stop sign	169.30(b) or PB9-75	Petty Misdemeanor	\$50/128	
Unsafe lane movement	169.18.7(a)	Petty Misdemeanor	\$50/128	
No brakes on bicycle	169.222.6(e)	Petty Misdemeanor	\$20/98	
Fail to yield to pedestrian	169.21.2(a)	Misdemeanor	\$100/178	
Right of way at stop sign	169.20.3(b)	Petty Misdemeanor	\$50/128	
Bicycle events violation	169.222.10	Petty Misdemeanor	\$20/98	
Bike hitched to vehicle	169.222.3	Petty Misdemeanor	\$20/98	
Riding on roadway or shoulder	169.222.4	Petty Misdemeanor	\$20/98	
(UMN) Unsafe operation of bicycle	3.III.2	Petty Misdemeanor	\$20/98	
Headphones or earplugs while riding				
Turning at intersection, markers, buttons, signs	169.19.1(f)	Petty Misdemeanor	\$50/128	

Offense	Statute	Type	Fine	Definition
Driving without a valid license or vehicle class/type; Multiple licenses prohibited	171.02.1		\$100/178	
Arm signal violation	169.222.8	Petty Misdemeanor	\$20/98	
Keeping to right on road	169.18.1	Petty Misdemeanor	\$50/128	
Failure to warn pedestrian when on sidewalk	169.222.4(d)	Petty Misdemeanor	\$20/98	
Riding on sidewalk in business district or where prohibited	169.222.4(d)	Petty Misdemeanor	\$20/98	
(UMN) Operating bicycle on sidewalks, crosswalks, or pedestrian areas	3.III.3	Petty Misdemeanor	\$20/98	
(UMN) Operating bike not in compliance with signs	3.III.3(a)	Petty Misdemeanor	\$40/118	
Operation of bicycle at night w/o required equipment	169.222.6(a)	Petty Misdemeanor	\$20/98	
Operation of bicycle w/o sufficient light and reflective surfaces	169.222.6(b)	Petty Misdemeanor	\$20/98	
(UMN) Illegally parked bike blocking access	3.IV.1	Petty Misdemeanor	\$20/32	
(UMN) Illegally chaining bicycle to any tree or plant, or park bicycle on handicap or pedestrian ramp	3.IV.3	Petty Misdemeanor	\$30/42	
Illegally chaining bike to tree or plant or ped or handicap ramp	490.150	Petty Misdemeanor	\$70/148	
Fail or refuse to comply with lawful order of Police Officer	169.02.2	Misdemeanor	Court	

Offense	Statute	Type	Fine	Definition
CBYMIN	370.30	Misdemeanor	\$100/178	Consumption By Minors, Enter Retail Liquor Premise With Intent to Purchase
CD	169.13.2	Misdemeanor	\$100/178	Careless driving
CIGMIN				
CIGMIP	609.685.3	Misdemeanor	\$50/\$128	Use or Possession of Tobacco by Persons Under Age 18
CONSME	340A.503	Misdemeanor	?	Consuming in Public
CONTMP	588.01 (588.20.2(4))	Misdemeanor	Court	Misd Contempt of Court - Willful Disobedience to Court Mandate
CURFEW	HC Ordinance 16	Misdemeanor	\$30/\$108	Curfew violation
DAMP RP	609.595	Misdemeanor	Court	4th Degree Criminal Damage to Property
DISCON	609.72	Misdemeanor	Court	Disorderly conduct in a public or private place/Disorderly Conduct- Offensive, abusive, noisy, obscene behavior/etc.
FALS NM	609.506	Misdemeanor	Court	Give false Name/DOB/ID to Peace Officer
FINFO	171.22	Gross misdemeanor	Court	Give false info/id to law enforcement officer
FLEEF T	609.487.6	Misdemeanor	Court	Fleeing a Peace Officer By a Means Other Than a Motor Vehicle
FYIELD				
FOBEY	466.130	Misdemeanor	Court	Obedience to police officers
HRWI				
INFO				
LIQMIN	340A.503.3	Misdemeanor	\$100/178	Possession of alcohol under 21 years of age
LITTER	427.30	Misdemeanor	\$100/178	Obstructions, Encroachments, and Littering
LOITER	385.50	Misdemeanor	Court	Loiter with intent to solicit any act prohibited by law
LURKING	385.50	Misdemeanor	Court	Lurking with intent to commit crime
NARC	152.02	Petty misdemeanor to Felony	\$50/128 to Court	Narcotics violation - anywhere from sale or possession of small amounts of marijuana to precursor meth drugs
NVA	None			Non-vehicular accident
OBSTRU	609.50	Misdemeanor	Court	Obstruct Legal Process-Lawful Execution Legal Process
PI				Personal Injury Accident
POSDPA	223.235	Misdemeanor	Court	Possession of drug paraphernalia in a public place.
PROBAT				
RCPROP				
SQUADA				
THREAT	609.713	Misdemeanor	\$100/\$178	Terroristic Threats

Offense	Statute	Type	Fine	Definition
TRSPAS	609.605	Misdemeanor	Court	Refuse to leave upon lawful demand/Trespass-Enter a building or dwelling locked or posted/ Trespass-Return to Property Within One Year/etc.
VCONR	629.72	Misdemeanor	?	Violation of conditional release
WEAP	624.714	Misdemeanor	\$25/\$103	Carry Weapons Without Permit - Notify w/in 30 Days of Address Change, Loss or Destroyed Permit
WEAPKN	393.90	Misdemeanor	Court	Carrying weapons and facsimile firearms prohibited (knife with 4" or longer blade)
WEAPOT	393.90	Misdemeanor	Court	Carrying other improvised weapon
WT		Felony		Warrant

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Learn more about the
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